

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

VOL. II. No. 26.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1899.

Whole No. 76.

## THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION BEGUN

A year ago John C. Chase, Social Democratic candidate for mayor of Haverhill, was elected by a plurality of 356 in a total vote of 6,210, with six candidates in the field. His vote in the 1898 election was 2,293. At the time the politicians sought to explain the result by saying that they had been caught off their guard or had allowed personal quarrels among Republican "leaders" to divide the party, and for months after Chase's inauguration a constant fusillade of threats of what they would do in 1899, when they would unite, was kept up in their party organs. The time for union came; Chase was renominated, and what happened then? The Republican party, which is "the poor man's friend!" and the Democratic party, which is the great political prostitute and party of "reform"; and the Prohibition party, which is the party of temperance and "holiness," combined their forces to uphold the capitalist system, and the union that was effected was one of interests hitherto bitterly opposed to each other, to prevent Chase's re-election. The result is the triumphant success of the Socialist candidate. The total vote cast Dec. 5 was 6,930, 720 more than a year ago and the largest ever polled in the city's history. Of this total, Chase received 3,543, or 1,250 more than last year. His opponent, Pingree, nominee of the R.-D.-P. combine, polled 3,328, and one Berry (a delonite factionist) got 59. The press dispatches sent out from Haverhill and Boston declared that the issue was between capitalism and Socialism, and the outcome, which, to the conservative element and the exploiting class of Massachusetts, is most surprising, is eminently satisfactory to Socialists, and the Social Democratic party.

## INTERESTING COMPARISONS

Some additional comparisons will interest the reader. In the Haverhill election last year the Social Democratic party also elected three aldermen and three members of the council. At that time Comrade Charles H. Bradley received 1,921 votes in the Sixth ward; this year Comrade Louis M. Scates ran for alderman, and was elected, receiving the remarkable vote of 3,074. Comrade Bean, elected last year as alderman from ward Seven by a vote of 2,568, was re-elected with a gain of 841, polling 3,409 votes, while Comrade Flanders was re-elected to the aldermanic board by substantially the same vote as last year.

The Social Democratic representation in the Haverhill city council is as follows: Aldermen, P. B. Flanders, Louis M. Scates and John B. Bean; councilmen, J. J. Carrigg, J. Bellefeuille and J. Hillsgrave. The Social Democrats also elected H. G. Rivers to the school committee.

The Boston Herald said it was the most memorable campaign ever fought in the city of Haverhill.

The Boston Traveller remarked editorially: "The Socialists of Haverhill have a right to celebrate their victory. When it is remembered that both the Democratic and Republican parties united to beat them at the polls, and were themselves handsomely defeated, it shows that the Socialists have taken strong hold of the people in the city of shoes."

"It shows that the people are getting tired of being led by the nose at the behest of a set of political bummers."

Says the Boston Post: "The struggle this year has been one of Socialism vs. private ownership and capitalism. Party lines have been forgotten and all efforts turned to the one vital issue of the campaign."

## A VICTORY FOR SOCIALISM

Comrade Chase, laying emphasis on the fact that it was a victory for Socialism, says:

"The Social Democratic victory is a victory for the working class of the world. As such it will be accepted and hailed by Socialists everywhere. The most intense interest has been taken in this election, and the one fact that the Social Democrats in one short year had compelled the leaders of the capitalist parties to combine to encompass our defeat has been looked upon as a substantial victory in itself and has been the strongest indorsement that could be given us."

"The Social Democrats have been fully conscious from the beginning of the strength and extent of the forces arrayed against them. They have known that they were engaging in no mere political scramble for office. They had a great principle at stake—a principle to hold inviolate from the attacks of corruption, misrepresentation and every trick of those skilled in the debasing art of political cupidity. Knowing this, they worked as only men can work who love a righteous cause, and the extent of the unselfish, untiring work put into this campaign will never be fully known or appreciated by those not intimately acquainted with the conduct of the campaign. The victory, therefore, is grati-

# Progress of the Social Revolution

## SOCIALISM MAIN FEATURE OF THE ELECTIONS

Hot Contest at Haverhill and Big Vote Polled, but the Socialists Scored a Grand Triumph over the "Traders."

## BIGGEST SHAKE-UP AT BROCKTON

In a Three-Cornered Fight Coulter, Socialist, is Chosen Mayor by a Thumping Plurality Over His Opponents

## SCATES ELECTED TO HAVERHILL COUNCIL

Three Social Democrats Elected as Members of the Brockton City Council

### Social Democratic Party in Washington

lying in more ways than one, first and greatest because it is the first real battle won by Socialism on American soil, and, second, because success came through honorable methods and unflinching devotion to the principles of Socialism.

"The attempt already being made to claim the victory of yesterday as a personal one is a lamentable one and palpably unfair to the Social Democratic party. The issue of the campaign was anti-Socialism vs. Socialism. This issue was made by our opponents themselves, and upon those lines the campaign was carried on. All those who have watched the campaign closely know this as well as we do, and it is ridiculous for any one to claim that any of our candidates were elected because of personal popularity. There never was a time when a candidate did not receive some votes as a tribute to himself, but in this campaign our personal characters were in no way impugned. Our candidacy was opposed and fought solely because we were the representatives of Socialism and because our records were Socialistic ones."

### WHAT HAS BEEN DONE

The uninitiated who read of the second success of the Social Democratic party at Haverhill will naturally ask: "Well, you have re-elected Chase; now tell us, what has your party done?" The question is a fair one, and entitled to a straightforward answer. For some years before John C. Chase became mayor, one of the important local matters with which the old parties played political shuttlecock was the abolition of grade crossings. The railroad corporations were always able, under the old regime, through influences that have been at the root of nearly all municipal corruption in this country, to defeat all attempts to accomplish the change desired by the people. The Social Democratic mayor and his colleagues in the council have persistently kept this question in the front for settlement, with the result that at the late election it was submitted to the voters, who, by a vote of 4,005 to 2,833, declared in favor of the abolition of the crossings.

In his inaugural address a year ago, Comrade Chase came out strongly in favor of an eight-hour day for municipal employees, and during the year, in conjunction with the Social Democratic members of the council (a minority of that body), has sought in every way to give practical effect to his recommendation. This question was also submitted to the citizens for decision, and by a vote of 4,151 to 2,314 the eight-hour day won.

### CAPITALISTIC "SOLIDARITY"

The Haverhill Gazette bears testimony to the fact that the forces of capitalism were solid to the last, but they were overcome by the solidarity of the Socialists. That paper says:

"There is no doubt but what there were many voters in both parties who refused to accept the nominations on the coalition ticket, but the leaders of both parties and of the temperance wing of the Republican ticket were in harmony, and the figures of the ballot show that Republicans and Democrats, men of all creeds, religious and political, stood by the nominations well."

### MASSACHUSETTS' STATE VOTE

The official returns for the state election, Nov. 7, show that Winfield P. Porter, Social Democratic candidate for governor, received 8,262 votes, against 3,749 last year, or a gain of 4,513. The people are coming rapidly to recognize in the S. D. P. the Socialistic party of America.

### GLORIOUS VICTORY AT BROCKTON

The Socialists at Brockton gave that city the greatest political shake-up in all its history. There were three candidates for mayor—Comrade Charles H. Coulter representing the Social Democratic party, against Kendrick (Rep.) and Garfield (Dem.). The total vote polled was 7,255, of which Comrade Coulter received 3,394, a plurality of 1,546. This is a result most astonishing to the political bums and crooks who had their minds made up that the American people would never awaken from their lethargy and break the bonds of political chicanery in the interest of the dominant economic class.

To members of the Social Democratic party it is especially gratifying as showing that the people are now beginning to see through the sham professions and general all-round hypocrisy of that hoary political skate, the Democratic party. Brockton is the home of Gerry Brown, whose fame as a leader of the Massachusetts Democracy, second only to that of George Fred Williams himself, received its quietus in the Brockton district some months ago in a public debate with Comrade F. G. R. Gordon of Manchester, N. H. Personally, let it be said: Brown is not at all a bad sort of a fellow; but he has political aspirations and trains with a bad crowd. That debate had much to do with the election returns, and, on behalf of Social Democrats, The Herald tenders its thanks to Gerry for accepting Gordon's challenge.

To support him in his administrative policy, Mayor Coulter will have two Social Democrats in the board of aldermen and one in the common council, our party having elected three members of the city government of Brockton besides the mayor.

The people of Brockton evidently thought that, so far as Coulter was concerned at least, they would make a clean job of it, for they gave him a clear lead in each of the seven wards of the city. The following table shows how it stood in the different wards between the three candidates:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Tot.
Coulter.....	375	388	707	447	501	496	478	3,394
Garfield.....	221	321	174	394	336	246	245	1,545
Kendricks.....	364	330	232	170	145	290	345	1,569

The result of the political mesalliance at Haverhill will no doubt discourage any hope the old party leaders may indulge of an effective combine against the Socialists at Brockton. The first political combination against Socialism has proved very disastrous to the combiners, even when their chosen candidate was the law partner of a United States district attorney, and the Boston & Maine railroad and other corporations were willing to foot the bills. So we don't expect to hear much about combining at Brockton. If they attempt it a year hence they will have the example of Haverhill with its impotent conclusion to haunt them in all their scheming. The Social Democrats of Brockton will be just as competent to whip a combine next year as they were at Haverhill this year.

The comrades elected to the Brockton city council are: Samuel L. Beal, alderman Third ward, vote 651; Edward D. Perry, alderman Sixth ward, vote 350; David S. Brothers, councilman Sixth ward, vote 325. Our vote for alderman in the Third ward a year ago was 80; for alderman in the Sixth ward, 54. There were a Republican and a Democratic candidate for alderman in all except the First ward, where Comrade W. P. Bosworth stood for that office with one opponent only—a Repub-

lican. Comrade Bosworth polled 335 votes, against 580 for the opposition. Comrades G. C. Brown, Chas. B. Malpas and Benjamin Thatcher, for aldermen in the Second ward, ran well, receiving 317, 258 and 236, respectively. In the Fourth ward Comrade W. T. West polled 178 votes for alderman; Edward T. Spear, for alderman in the Fifth ward, had 258 votes, against 62 cast for the party in that ward last year. Our candidate for alderman in the Seventh ward, Geo. H. Sprague, received 244, against 77 for the party a year ago, and beating his Democratic opponent.

The unsuccessful candidates for the common council all made excellent records in their respective wards, beating the Democrats in nearly every instance.

The Social Democratic candidates for the school board polled a large vote, as follows:

French, 1,838; Harrington, 1,809; Norling, 1,567.

### MAYOR CHAS. H. COULTER

The mayor-elect of Brockton was born in Grantville, now Wellesley Hills, Mass., Jan. 21, 1870. He attended the public schools in that town until he was 14 years old, and then went to the Cranberry isles, Maine, where he lived two years. During that time he went on several fishing trips in the fishing vessels which sailed from that vicinity.

When 16 years of age he located at Brockton, where he has since resided. He is a plumber by trade.

When the Plumbers' Union was formed, he was one of the charter members, and during its history was its president two or three terms. Afterward he was elected to the presidency of the Central Labor Union and held the position four terms, attending to the duties of the head of organized labor in this city with great faithfulness and efficiency.

When the Social Democratic party was formed, Mr. Coulter was elected chairman of branch 9 of the party. He was one of its charter members. Last year, with the party only one year old and very little understood in this city, he was the candidate for mayor.

Mr. Coulter has been a steadfast worker for the new party from the organization of the branch. He has devoted every spare moment he could get to the advancement of the principles of Social Democracy, which are, in his convictions, synonymous with those of universal brotherhood and justice.

This fall he was the unanimous choice at the mass convention of the party for nominee for mayor. His election attests the confidence which the people of the municipality have in him and the principles which he represents.

### WHAT COULTER SAID

"So far as I am concerned, the city will be run in the interest of the whole people. I have always contended that there are chances for improvement in the management of municipal affairs. The financial part is something which I shall be obliged to look into carefully before I can tell what can be introduced for the benefit of the people."

"The measures which the voters have enacted into laws at today's voting I am heartily in favor of. Each one shall be enforced without fear or favor."

"The party which is responsible for my election stands for all that is pure in politics and all that is for the best interest of the people, and I feel confident that my fellow-members of the Social Democratic party will assist me in giving Brockton an administration with which all will be satisfied."

"The election today was achieved through the workingmen uniting. The

fact that they united on a workingman and elected him does not signify that they will not stretch out the hand of fellowship to the business men for the purpose of attaining the best results in municipal government."

"We realize that we can do little toward the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth at this time, or toward municipal ownership, until the legislature is controlled in the interest of the people. The corporations have succeeded in getting laws passed by the state legislature that practically prohibit a municipality from obtaining possession of the utilities of a city on a fair basis."

### A NIGHT OF JUBILEE

"It was a night of jubilee for the Social Democratic party," said the Brockton Enterprise. "The pent-up enthusiasm of the large body of voters, many of whom thronged the headquarters of the party in Clark's block in such numbers that the ceiling of the rooms on the floor below cracked and gave some of them a scare, was kept in check till the election of Charles H. Coulter was established beyond a doubt. Then the building could no longer contain the men, and the men could no longer contain their delight."

"They surged onto the sidewalks and to Church street, where they formed a parade, carrying out the plans which were formed several nights before when the workers of the party in the several wards showed logically that the mayor-elect candidate was to be elected. The Social Democratic band was placed at the head of the parade, and red fire was kindled to light up the hundreds of men in line, ready to make the welkin ring and send shouts of triumph into the ranks of the defeated and the rejoicing alike. Mayor-elect Coulter made a stirring speech, and was cheered again and again."

### COX GETS NEW CORNET

A pleasant feature of a meeting held at Social Democratic headquarters, Brockton, on election night, was the presentation to John J. Cox, leader of the Social Democratic band, of a handsome cornet. It was a gift from members of the branch to Leader Cox in testimonial of appreciation for the good work done by the band in the campaign, and his personal efforts to bring the organization to the degree of efficiency it has attained.

Mr. Cox was completely surprised at the presentation, but received the gift gracefully and thankfully. He gave a cornet solo to satisfy the demand of the people who wanted to have its merits tested at once.

### THE PRESS REPORTS

The manipulators of the news seem to have been seized with great dread lest the full significance of the Social Democratic successes should get to the public. The reports of our victory at Haverhill were meager in the extreme, while one hunted in vain for the briefest reference to the great overthrow of the two old parties at Brockton. The Chicago Tribune, which claims to be a newspaper, on the morning of Dec. 7, printed a "special cable" from Berlin announcing the defeat of the Socialists in an election to the Brunswick landtag, but concerning the triumphant election of Charles H. Coulter, Socialist, as mayor of the city of Brockton, Mass., it had not a word. The hiring press of this country, true to the interests of its capitalist masters, fears to print the news of the spread of Socialism at home; it either suppresses that news altogether, as the Tribune did, or puts it away where it is least likely to be seen and read by the people. But we'll get along all right for a' that, boys; keep it going! It is a good sign when they print accounts of a Socialist defeat in a German province simultaneously with the suppression of the news of Socialist successes in one of the great Republican strongholds of the union.

### AN HONORABLE VICTORY

The Brockton Enterprise, a daily newspaper which, be it said, has during the past year treated our comrades with marked fairness and consideration, says of the election:

"As the Social Democratic party openly declared in the beginning that it would fuse with no party and make no trades, and has steadfastly adhered to its declaration, the victory of yesterday is wholly its own. 'It was a famous victory!'"

### MARYLAND'S VOTE

The official returns give our candidates the following vote in state election:

Jones (governor) .....432  
Fowler (comptroller) .....453  
Backman (attorney-general) .....496

(Continued on Second Page)



## Social Democratic Herald

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE  
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

Executive Board  
JESSE COX, Chairman  
SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary  
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Entered at Chicago postoffice as second class matter.

A. S. EDWARDS, Editor  
THEODORE DEBS, National Sec'y-Treas.  
126 Washington St., Chicago.

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, DEC. 16, 1899.

## PROGRESS OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION

(Concluded from First Page)

### FAIRHAVEN, WASH.

The Social Democrats of Fairhaven, Wash., took part in the liveliest city election known there for many years, with the result that they came within twenty-six votes of electing our candidate for mayor. Keep up the work, comrades! Hurrah for international Socialism and the Social Democratic party! We are coming, sure!

### GALLANT FIGHT AT QUINCY

The comrades at Quincy elected none of their candidates, but they put up a gallant fight and exceeded their expectations in getting votes. Our candidate for mayor, Comrade G. B. Bates, polled 208 votes, which were well distributed through the six wards of the city. The candidate for councilman-at-large, Comrade A. W. Russell, received 450 votes. Candidates for councilmen from different wards were given votes as follows: First ward, P. M. Carlson 117, W. M. Packard 141; Second ward, G. K. Carter 138; Third ward, D. Desmond, Jr., 151, T. J. Halvoss 248; Fifth ward, H. E. Johnson 110.

### SOLIDARITY AT ROCKVILLE

The total vote polled for mayor at Rockville, Conn., was 914, of which William P. Lonergan, Social Democratic candidate, received 240. The Rockville Ledger says "there was some anxiety as regards the effect of the Social Democratic vote," and the result was a genuine surprise. The vote polled by the different candidates on our ticket follows: Lonergan (mayor).....240 McVeigh (clerk).....229 Spielman (treasurer).....228 Quinlan (sheriff).....229 Gunderman (assessor).....229 Orcutt (assessor).....229 Kellner (auditor).....227 Pike (alderman, 1st ward).....13 Smith (councilman, 2d ward).....36 Theurer (alderman, 3d ward).....63 Spielman (councilman, 3d ward).....63 Schlaf (councilman, 4th ward).....114

The Brockton Enterprise said the day after election:

"Mayor Charles H. Coulter is to be congratulated on a victory that was sweeping and that shook the town. To gain a plurality of 1,523 votes over the leader of such men as Kendrick and Garfield was a remarkable performance. Mr. Coulter's big victory was not only a party but a personal victory, and he is fairly entitled to wear with pride the laurels he has won. His official career the coming twelvemonth will be watched with the greatest interest and curiosity, and all good citizens will give him their support in all good and useful measures he may see fit to inaugurate. Brockton, like other cities, is not perfect in everything, and not beyond improvement. The new mayor, in seeking to bring about improvements that commend themselves to his fellow-citizens, will have no lack of public support. Brockton will be an interesting city in which to live the coming year. There will be spice and liveliness and entertainment and novelty in it."

### DEBS AT HAVERHILL

The Haverhill city hall was packed to the doors on the night of Nov. 27 to hear Eugene V. Debs. The Haverhill Social Democrat says: "The air was charged with enthusiasm and when the best loved man in the labor movement stepped upon the platform he looked upon a crowd, packed and jammed into every available inch of space in the big hall, which gave him an ovation worthy of the time and place and occasion."

In the course of his address, Comrade Debs said:

"We are confronted by one of two conditions. First of all, let it be said that no power on earth can prevent the complete concentration of industries. One industry after another is being completely monopolized. The middle class is disappearing. They are struggling to get into the small capitalist class. About one in a thousand will succeed. The others will be forced down into the overcrowded ranks of the working class.

And this process will continue until all the capital of the country is concentrated in the hands of a single syndicate or trust; so that finally we will have a trust of trusts. We will have an economic oligarchy. We will not be ruled by a king, by an emperor or a czar. We will be ruled by economic potentates that will control the people because they control their necessities. Either this, or the collective ownership of trusts and the operation of all industry in the interest of the whole people. That is to say: Capitalism or Socialism, slavery or freedom. You will have a chance to vote upon these alternatives next Tuesday. You may forge your chains still stronger; you may vote to strike the last fetter from the last economic slave on this continent.

"There is very much involved in this municipal campaign. I would, if it were in my power, impress upon you its importance and its significance. I have just returned from the far west. I spent a week in California, and was asked again and again in that coast state, 'What about Haverhill?' They understand out there that there has been a very strong combination perfected in Haverhill for the overthrow of the Social Democratic party. They are as familiar with the situation as most of your citizens are. I said: 'I feel quite confident that this combination will succeed—in destroying itself.' It represents absolutely no principle, and I challenge contradiction. By some strange magic, the Republican here finds himself in the embrace of a life-long enemy—the Democrat. Waking up in the morning, they find themselves in the same camp. All of the hostility has been declared off. They stand revealed as one party, or, to speak more properly, no party at all—for you could not find a trace of the Republican party with a magnifying glass. The Democratic party has totally lost its identity, if it ever had any. 'A citizens' party,' they call it. The corporations are very profoundly interested in the success of this citizens' party. The professional politicians are also profoundly interested in its success. It is a new party, for a new and very strange purpose. You are a Democrat, perhaps. You have been in the Democratic party for a long while. What purpose have you in forming an alliance with a life-long enemy at this time? What is the purpose? Does not the answer suggest itself? A combination of these two parties to defeat the Social Democratic party. That is the purpose, and the only purpose. The 'party,' so called, has no other program. And how strangely its nominations were made! We live in a republic. Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whence they derive their unjust powers is not stated. These nominations were made, but the rank and file had no voice in the making of them. The program has been made in caucus, and the nominations announced—not, however, subject to the approval of the constituents of these nominees. The contract has been made. The votes are to be delivered, and the question for every self-respecting Republican and Democrat to ask himself is whether he proposes to deliver the goods in fulfillment of the contract made by the politicians. I do not believe that the people of Haverhill, totally irrespective of party, will subscribe to such a degrading program. I do believe that when the voters have been deposited and the last ballot has been counted, the announcement will go forth that this unholy compact has been rebuked by such an overwhelming vote that the repetition of it will never again be attempted in Haverhill.

"And just here let me say that the Social Democratic party enters into this campaign with absolute confidence of success. It was never more certain of the absolute justice of its underlying principles. The party is harmonious. It stands before the people without a blemish upon its name. What about its candidate? John C. Chase has held the office of mayor for one year. There has not been one breath of scandal in connection with his administration. His official integrity is as spotless as a star. So with his personal character. In all of the severity of criticism no one has ventured to impugn his honesty of purpose. And what is true of John C. Chase, the first Socialist mayor in the United States, is likewise true of his colleagues. They stand before you asking for your support purely upon the principles embodied in their platform, and upon the record they have made as representatives of their party. What is true of the local representatives, is likewise true of those who represented you at the capital while the legislature was in session. That brilliant young statesman, James F. Carey, made a record there well calculated to challenge the admiration and respect, not only of his constituents, but of every citizen of the state. His speech upon 'Child Labor' will win for him immortality. His colleague, Louis M. Seates, true to every obligation as the needle to the pole, temporarily defeated—but sometimes defeat is victory, and it is victory in his case, for he largely increased his vote, and he is stronger in the confidence of his fellow-citizens than he was before the election; and when he stands again, as stand he will, he will be triumphantly elected by the people."

## MERLIN'S MIXTURE

### HAIL, HAVERHILL!

"Oh, dwellers by the Merrimac,  
The heirs of centuries at your back,  
Still reaping where you have not sown,  
A broader field is now your own."  
—Whittier.

So sang the poet of the town  
Where birth and friendship handed  
down  
Its wealth of recollections, till  
He sang these words of Haverhill.

Scarce did he think, when thus he wrote,  
That ere a short decade should float,  
Like flitting cloud, his words should be  
Of future times a prophecy.

So sing we now, loud-toned and clear,  
With meaning fraught with gladsome  
cheer,  
With fancy into fact full-grown,  
"A broader field is now your own."

Yours is the victory! Yours the fame  
Of raising Socialism's name  
In triumph o'er the swelling tide  
Of Capital's self-seeking pride.

After the battle's din and roar,  
After the strain and strife are o'er,  
After forebodings, fancies, fears,  
The note of triumph greets your ears.

Keen was the battle. Firm the hold  
Of Wrong entrenched behind its gold;  
While Right, upon the open field,  
Must needs its fullest effort wield.

Stern was the battle. Fusing foes  
Made common cause against the woes  
Of plundered labor. Labor stands,  
Insistent on its own demands.

So, Labor stands! Oh, glorious scene,  
To see our class no more between  
The striving ranks of need and greed  
But victor by its own strong deed.

A hopeful augury, and good,  
Of that glad time when Labor could  
By firm cohesion, force the fight,  
And vanquish all before its might.

A clear-cut issue. This the cause  
That made old politicians pause,  
Pool issues, take a common stand,  
And now—in fitful rage disband.

"A broader field." A selfish foe,  
Whose envious eyes beheld you grow  
In social wisdom, could not stay  
The widening circles of your sway.

With golden bars he sought to hold  
The rush of right, but all the gold  
In all the mines in all the land  
Could not the force of right withstand.

Well have you waged the conflict. Well  
Made all your scattered forces tell.  
Stalwart your hearts, when in the dark,  
You still pressed onward to the mark.

Oh, dwellers by the Merrimac,  
If centuries are at your back,  
Ahead, ahead, there lies an age,  
Whose sons shall reap your heritage!

In these live days you sow the seed  
Of stalwart act and social deed,  
Whose fruits the coming race shall see,  
And seeing, bless your memory.  
Merlin.

The Brookside cotton mill at Knoxville, Tenn., is owned and operated by Christian gentlemen. No, they own it merely; it is operated by slaves. The slaves are employed on piece work. If one of their number, from sickness or any other cause, leaves his machine for an hour he is docked one dollar; if he takes time to get a drink of water during working hours, though on piece work, he is fined. If he responds to a call of nature, he is fined. And all these fines go to increase the profits of the Christian gentlemen who own the mill. One of the most villainous systems of robbery anywhere practiced is being carried on at the Brookside cotton mill of Knoxville, Tenn. What a terrible calamity it would be to put an end to a system that makes such things possible!

An intelligent Hindoo, member of the parliament of India, says: "There are two Indias—the prosperous India of the British and other foreigners, and the poverty-stricken India of the natives." And Occident replying to Orient says: "There are two Americas—the prosperous America of the land and tool owning class, the exploiters of labor; and the poverty-stricken America of the mine and the factory."

"The question at issue," said President Sprague of the Haverhill Republican Club before the election, "is whether the Socialists shall rule the city. We will try to line up the people who are opposed to Socialism—whether Republicans or Democrats." They tried and the result has gone into history. The people showed good common sense and refused to be "lined up."

Twinkle, twinkle, little star,  
How I wonder what you are!  
Speck of fine celestial dust,  
Are you banded in a trust?

## SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF GERMANY

To Germany belongs the credit of having discovered that greatest of all sciences, Socialism, and to have scientifically demonstrated Socialism to be the perfected state of society of the coming future, in place of the rotten system now existing.

Therefore, to Germany belongs the credit of being the pioneer of Socialism, and to Germany is allotted the task of teaching all other nations; consequently in the development and growth of Socialism, Germany must take the first place and lead all other nations of the earth. The time is not far distant when he hailed as the true saviors of mankind. Marx, Engels, La Salle and others will From all data now at hand, we find that science has become a practical, living thing in Germany, and that the people are anxious to demonstrate its practicability to all the affairs of human life, and that this classified knowledge is becoming more and more democratic.

In no other country is education so well diffused among the masses as in Germany, thus placing the minds of the people on a fitting plane for the reception of Socialist ideas, and it must be said that the movement of the Social Democratic party has contributed much toward elevating the understanding and mental activities of the people. This it has accomplished by means of its extensive literature and its press, with its scathing denunciation and criticism of existing institutions, and though this criticism is not confined to the economic system, yet they steadily insist that it is the economic system which gives the form to all other institutions—representative government being worthless under existing economic conditions. The representation of the German Socialist party in parliament is the strongest in the world. Originating in 1871 with 100,000 votes and one deputy, in response to the call it came to the front in 1898 with 2,225,000 votes, representing fifty-eight deputies, and with a solidarity and class consciousness absolutely unknown to any other political party and with the result that the capitalistic forces of that empire were thrown into convulsions. The tactics of these representatives represent defense and defiance, and they have often cast defiance in the teeth of the tyrants and oppressors of the people. They have intensified matters until they are ready to explode and they have shown that the existing order of things is in dissolution; that it is being undermined and will be overthrown, and that the source from which the weapons are being supplied is Socialism.

In Germany, university men, scholars and scientists are joining the Socialist movement for the purpose of placing the enemy and fighting it in the last ditch, dealing sledge-hammer blows to the enemies of light.

P. P. Ayer.

### SOCIALISM IN MASSACHUSETTS

The prominence of the Socialist party in the municipal elections in Massachusetts on Tuesday is a phenomenon of considerable interest. The places in which this party is especially strong are Haverhill and Brockton, but in other cities sufficient gains were made to give the candidates of the two leading parties some concern. In Haverhill the present mayor is a Socialist, and he has been re-elected. That city, therefore, may be regarded as the center of the strength of the party.

It would be interesting to know all the reasons that have operated to bring about this unusual support for Socialism in the manufacturing towns of Massachusetts. It is worth noting as a fact, which may be a mere coincidence, that both Haverhill and Brockton are engaged principally in shoe making. The industry has had its full share of labor troubles. Possibly those troubles and the growth of Socialism could be connected as cause and effect. Those who heard John Graham Brooks in his address before the Liberal Club in Buffalo will remember that he touched upon this subject, intimating that upon the attitude of trusts toward labor would depend to some extent the success of Socialism in this country. Mr. Brooks noted as one of the significant facts in European politics the decadence of the old parties of what is called Liberalism and the corresponding growth of Socialism. He mentioned Belgium as a capital illustration. Mr. Brooks then proceeded to reason that the same movement would appear in this country unless wage earners are given a steadily increasing share in the fruits of civilization. He had the advantage of knowing personally of the sentiment of the people of Massachusetts shoe towns, for his interest in the study of social problems began while he was in charge of a church in Brockton.

Whatever may be the final worth of his theory, it has sufficient correspondence to facts to be plausible. This theory, however, does not apply so well to the Massachusetts cities devoted to cotton manufacturing, in which wages generally are low, but where there have been fewer labor troubles on the average than in the cities whose principal industry is shoe making.—Buffalo (N. Y.) Express.

The Los Angeles branch has adopted and published an address condemnatory of the Times of that city in ignoring the great Sunday afternoon meeting held there and addressed by Eugene V. Debs.

## WANTED FIVE THOUSAND SOCIALISTS

Not to make money, but to make more Socialists. That is what we want to do before we meet the hosts of capitalism in the political arena next year, isn't it? And that is what we must do if we expect success to crown our efforts. What is the best way to make Socialists? Everybody gives the same answer: "Get men to read the literature of Socialism." If you can succeed in doing that you have started a certain influence in the world that is beyond the power of any man to estimate; you may have rendered an inestimable individual service to the cause of Socialism.

Now, you know that, as a rule, it is useless to try and induce men to read any of the great standard works of our literature. Indeed, it is too true, unfortunately, that the victims of wage slavery have neither time nor disposition to do that. In view of this condition of affairs, there rests upon every Socialist no clearer duty than that of bringing to the notice of their fellowmen and inducing them to read some of the excellent publications in cheaper form, such as are found in the

### "Pocket Library of Socialism"

With a view to securing thousands of readers for these little books, admirably adapted as they are for the propaganda of Socialism, as well as to increase the circulation of this paper, we have made arrangements that enable us to offer the complete set of ten books free to anyone sending in five yearly subscriptions to the

### Social Democratic Herald

The subscription price of the paper is 50 cents; the complete "Pocket Library of Socialism" will be mailed postpaid to anyone sending us, at one time, five names and \$2.50. Ten subscribers for six months, at 25 cents, will be accepted.

If five thousand present readers of The Herald can see in this offer where they can help the spread of Socialist principles, and will lend a hand in carrying it through, there will be added to The Herald subscription list 25,000 names, and 50,000 books on Socialism will go into the hands of the people as a result of their efforts.

Isn't it worth while to do your share in accomplishing this result on the eve of a national election, in which the Social Democratic party will participate? If you don't want the books yourself, you can give them away or dispose of them at the retail price of 5 cents. The complete "Pocket Library of Socialism," ten books, would cost you 50 cents.

### First National Campaign

It need not be said that the addition of 25,000 names to The Herald subscription list and the circulation of 50,000 books setting forth in simple and comprehensive terms the principles of Socialism, will have a tremendous effect on the campaign of 1900—the first national election in which the Social Democratic party will take part.

To secure five new subscribers is not a hard task for any earnest Socialist. It can be done in any community in the country. Remittances should be sent to

### THEODORE DEBS,

126 Washington St., Chicago

### Imprudent Marriages

This little book by Robert Blatchford, author of "Merrie England," is an answer to the common argument that if all laborers would be industrious and economical and avoid imprudent marriages, everyone would be prosperous and happy. There is not much left of this argument when Mr. Blatchford gets through with it. His conclusion is that if the state of things in England today is such that a man willing to work must be denied the joy of honorable love, marriage and children, then the state of things in England today will not do. The booklet makes interesting reading in America as well, and it costs only 5 cents. Order from Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

The greatest heat produced artificially is that of an electric arc furnace, the kind that is used in the production of artificial diamonds, calcium carbide, etc. It is so intense that nothing exists with which to record it. It is estimated, however, to be of about 400 degrees Fahrenheit. The coldest known temperature is that of liquid air, which freezes alcohol and mercury, and distances all means of measuring. It is claimed that with it a temperature of 400 degrees below zero Fahrenheit is reached. The present limits of heat and cold are, therefore, represented by the arc furnace and liquid air.

The trades unionist who desires to post up on Socialism can easily do so. All he has to do is to get five yearly subscribers to The Herald at 50 cents each and by return mail receive the "Pocket Library of Socialism," ten books, free of charge. If you can't get five yearlies, make it ten for six months. This offer is open to everybody.



## AMONG THE BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.

### CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch (San Francisco) of the Social Democratic Party holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8 p. m. Admission free.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the Friday Morning Club, 309 South Broadway.

Branch No. 2, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the Friday Morning Club, 309 South Broadway.

### COLORADO

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday evening at Woodman's Hall, 1715 California St., Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 1729 Washington St.

### CONNECTICUT

Branch 3 (Conn.), New Haven, meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday in the month, at 196 State Street, at 8 p. m. Secretary Cornelius Mahoney, 155 Frank St.

### ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly, second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Kilwin, Secretary, 254 Westwood Ave.

Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets 2nd and 4th Sunday at 2 p. m. at Nagle's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Secretary, Václav Jelínek, 636 Blue Island Ave.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 2nd and 4th Monday of each month at Joe Dundras' place, 1080 W. 18th Place. Secretary, Frank Ort, 866 W. 18th St.

Branch 4, Chicago, meets every first and third Monday evenings of the month, at 209 St. Louis Ave. Secretary, Mrs. Mary Morgan, 1495 Fullerton St.

Branch No. 5 Illinois meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 18th street, corner Jefferson street. Secretary, Paul Chlepecek, 47 Ruhle St.

Branch 6 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday of each month at eight o'clock at Nagle's Hall, 535 Blue Island avenue, near 18th street. Albin Gelsler, 728 W. 20th street.

Branch 8, Chicago, meets at Lundquist Hall, corner 1st and Morgan streets, every first and third Thursday. S. L. Westine, Secretary, 6243 Center Ave.

### INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

### MARYLAND

Branch No. 1, Maryland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 506 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, Md., meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 311 W. German St., Secretary, Frank Marek, 1408 N. Gay St.

### MASSACHUSETTS

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 20 James street.

Branch 3, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 22 Summer St. Meetings held every Monday night at 7:30 p. m. Open house. Public invited. E. W. Timson, 23 Albany St., Fin. Sec.-Treas.

Branch No. 4, Boston, meets the 1st and 3rd Tuesday of each month for business in Cutter's Hall, Clark's Block, Cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, No. 323 W. Elm Street.

Branch 15, Massachusetts-East Boston-meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Jenny Sogal, 99 Chelsea St., Sec.

Branch 12, Chelsea, Mass., meets every Thursday at 8 p. m. in room 2, postoffice building. Chelsea. Alfred B. Outram, Sec., 72 Ash St.

Branch 13, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Secretary, 33 Winter St., G. H. Evans, Treas., Prince Place.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, Mass., permanent headquarters Room 2, Postoffice Building. Open every evening. Meetings every Thursday at 8 p. m. Public invited.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 124 Washington St., Boston. Officers and members intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 West Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be sent to the corresponding secretary, Margaret Halle, 5 Gleewood St., Roxbury.

### MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. Wm. H. Randall, Sec.

### MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters—Room 7, 22 No. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches inquire at the above address.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union Ave., Kansas City. G. J. Storz, 1330 W. 9th St., Sec.

### NEW YORK

Branch 10 (4th Assembly Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month, at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 123 Grand St. Jacob Fankel, Sec., 139 E. 10th St., N. Y.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3rd Thursday at 115 Clinton St. Secretary, A. Guyer, 163 Suffolk St.

Branch 3, New York City (Assembly District), meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 334 E. 64th St. L. Funcke, 239 E. 58th St., Sec.

Branch No. 4 (West Side Branch) meets second and fourth Thursday of every month at their headquarters, 159 West 99th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 251 Rutledge Street, meets every 3rd Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested in Socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, 251 Rutledge St., Secretary.

Branch No. 20, New York City (Assembly District), meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays of each month at Paulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Avenue, New York City. Secretary, R. Hoppe, 223 E. 80th St.

The City Central Agitation Committee of the Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesday of every month in Wislitz's Hall, 65 E. Fourth street. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

### OHIO

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlson's Hall, 65 York Street, second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, Ohio, meets first and third Sundays in each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlson's Hall, No. 65 York Street, second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m. Lectures and discussions, public invited. Secretary, Chas. D. Loder, 1913 S. Auburn street.

Branch 3, Cincinnati, meets every 2nd and 4th Saturday, in Workmen's Hall, 1215 Walnut St. Secretary, J. C. France, 1215 Walnut St.

Branch 11 (German), Columbus, Ohio, Ed. Greiner, Secretary, 806 Mohawk street.

### PENNSYLVANIA

Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Saturday afternoon at K. L. Hall, 716 State Street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; Secretary, Geo. B. Laird, 226 W. 5th St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at K. L. Hall, South 4th and Washington Sts. President, W. Bohn, 24 Addison St. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 2123 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania, meets every Friday at 8 o'clock in the room of the Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Geerson, Secretary.

### WISCONSIN

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 553 Jefferson St. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, chairman; Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch 3, Sheboygan, Wis., meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania Avenue. R. Schoen, S. 12th Street, Secretary-Treasurer.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown Streets. George Moerschel, Secretary, 161 Twenty-fifth Street.

Branch 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, S. E. corner Orchard Street and 9th Avenue. Secretary, Fred Brockhausen, 751 Windlake Avenue.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets the second Wednesday of each month at the office of the Wisconsin "Vorwarts," 614 State St.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Peterleus Hall, 717 Center Street, at 8 p. m. John Koepfer, Secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America, meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at No. 618 East Water Street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfler, Treasurer.

## NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending March 31 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill., on or before Jan. 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

### New Branch

Arizona responds to the call to action and the invitation of the Social Democratic party with the organization of a magnificent branch at Globe, including twenty-two charter members. This branch undertakes the propaganda for the party in Arizona. The officers chosen are: J. R. Barnette, chairman; Jesse Williams, vice-chairman; Fred Marz, secretary; Hilpa Norquay, treasurer; M. J. Casper, organizer.

### Great Meeting at Toledo

Last Sunday afternoon comrade Eugene V. Debs delivered the message of Socialism to one of the greatest meetings ever held in the city of Toledo. The biggest hall in the city was jammed and overflowing. The effect of the address was wonderful and the audience was spellbound. Many delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention at Detroit stopped over expressly to hear the lecture and were thrilled and astonished with what they heard.

### A Protest from Wisconsin

The central committee of the Social Democratic party of Wisconsin, at a meeting Dec. 4, unanimously adopted the following resolution as being the sense of the meeting:

"Resolved, by the central committee of the Social Democratic party of Wisconsin. That in case of negotiations between the national executive board of our party and one of the factions of the Socialist Labor party, we wish to go on record as unalterably opposed to any agreement contemplating a change of the name of our party or a change in its spirit and tactics. The name of our party is that of the great organizations in the international Socialist movement, and it explains exactly what we stand for—Democratic Socialism."

If you ordered the "Pocket Library of Socialism," complete, you would pay for it 50 cents cash. These booklets are all good, uniform in size and just what you would buy if you could see them. You can have the ten free by sending us five new subscribers to The Herald for one year at 50 cents each, or the equivalent in six months' subscriptions.

The Wolverines are looking more and more to the Social Democratic party, and news has just been received that a fine branch is in process of formation at Kalamazoo. It will be composed of wide-awake and intelligent men, who will push the movement to the front in that part of the state.

A conspicuous example of the progress cotton manufacturing is making in China, says the Commercial Bulletin, is the establishment of a factory at Wu-Chang, on the Yang-Tse-Kiang, 400 miles from the coast. It is stated that the goods being produced at this mill are eagerly sought by the Chinese. The machinery in the mill, comprising the preparatory machines and 500,000 ring spindles, with the reeling, etc., was erected by native Chinese under the supervision of only one English erector. The mill is situated in the heart of the country, about 800 miles up the Yang-Tse-Kiang, several days' steamboat journey from Shanghai, and the district does not afford the resources for dealing with machinery that are at command in other centers of industry. The carpet-making industry of China is of comparatively recent growth, and the chief seat of the industry at the present day is Sakai, a town about eight miles south of Osaka, and a few are made at the neighboring village of Sumiyoshi.

Subscribers will find their expiration number on wrapper. Prompt renewal is requested.

## MASTERS AND SLAVES

By E. Val Putnam

Just think of it: Forty years ago, what was nicknamed "the underground railway" was necessary to enable negro chattel slaves to escape from cruel masters. To-day the state of Missouri runs a free employment bureau for the purpose of enabling wage slaves to more readily find masters.

I am inclined to think that as our so-called civilization advances its cruelty becomes more and more refined. Chains fall from the limbs of the slave, and the mortgage alights upon his farm. The lashes of the "blacksnake" cease, and the rent collector knocks at his door. The bloodhounds no longer pursue him, and the factories hang out signs—"No more help needed until further notice." Physical restraint gives place to the black list. Mental anguish is substituted for bodily pains, and the slave driver and his whip are succeeded by the equity judge and his blanket injunction.

Of all the sad things it has been my lot to observe in this world of sorrow and despair, to me the saddest, the most appealing, is the sight of an able-bodied man wandering over the face of the earth in search of permission to labor. Abolitionists like Harriet Beecher Stowe may have painted, in colors that would stir the most sluggish heart, the picture of a brutal master pursuing, with whip and hounds, a fugitive slave; but no brush can paint, no pen can write, no tongue can tell the sadness, the degradation and the despair contained in that pitiful scene of a human slave searching for a lord and master.

Show me the horse, the mule, the cow, that has to search for a master. Point me out one domestic animal that has starved to death for want of an employer. Only idle men and homeless dogs ever whine for a master.

Here is a very excellent description of modern wage slavery, taken from an article published in the New York World:

"Click, click, click, went the ivories, propelled by cues in the hands of half a dozen fair women. It was about 10 p. m. in the ladies' billiard room of the Waldorf-Astoria; stitch, stitch, stitch, went the needles driven by tired, grimy women. It was the same hour in a sweatshop in East Houston street. A sharper contrast it would be hard to find in this great city of social contrasts.

"The very name 'Waldorf-Astoria' suggests wealth, east, luxury. The word 'sweatshop' is faithfully expressive of the conditions of modern life among the 'submerged tenth.'

"On the top floor of a tenement-house in East Houston street is a front room about fifteen feet square. Two long, low tables extend crosswise through it. Over them are bent the heads and shoulders of twelve or fourteen women. The 'sweaters' are making neckties. The hours are long; the holidays most infrequent; the recompense meager; the work most confining. It is worse slavery than that of the rice or cotton fields; but it enables the manufacturer to dine at the Waldorf-Astoria and his wife, daughter and friends to indulge in billiards and the champagne cup in the gorgeous apartments on the fourteenth floor."

If the wage workers of to-day are not slaves, where is the evidence of their freedom? To put it concisely—if they are free, why are they not fat?

These statements may to some people seem rather broad, but I make the deliberate assertion that the great majority of wage workers are so compelled by their needs to cater to the wishes of their employers (if not to one employer, then to some other) that they are positively—so far as their employers desire it to be so—slaves, and have no will of their own.

The cause of this new slavery is cleverly expressed in this little poem by Will Scott:

"No hog was ever hog enough—  
Though field and forest looting—  
To try to stop another hog  
From ravenously rooting.  
But if some haughty hog should say,  
'These premises are mine;  
Unless you want to root for me,  
Don't trespass here, ye swine.'  
And if some pig should disobey  
And ply his greedy snout,  
Then would the other pigs turn in  
And help to drive him out?  
Or is there but one vertebrate  
From mastodon to bat  
That God has made so stupid that  
He's capable of that?"

There you are. "No hog was ever hog enough." It was left to a two-legged creature to discover the "sacred right of private property."

The world, under our present economic system, is divided into two principal classes. In the one class are the men in a position to say, "Unless you want to root for me, don't trespass here, ye swine." The other class is composed of that great army of wage workers whose only alternative is—to root for some member of the other class, and receive, as a reward, a portion of what they produce.

The existence of these two classes cannot be ignored. There are some reformers who deplore any reference to the classes as an evidence of mere envy and hatred of the rich. But the Social Democratic Party is not a party to ignore facts. We say: "The world is being rapidly divided into two classes—the

capitalists and the wage workers—the profit takers and the profit makers. Their interests are antagonistic. There is a constant war between the two classes, and in that war, which we did not create, but which we realize is being waged, we are on the side of the workers."

But meanwhile it is our earnest endeavor to impress upon the workers that they must unite at the ballot box, acquire complete control of the government, abolish the present monstrous and unscientific wage system of industry, and establish the co-operative commonwealth, in which there will be but one class—the producers—and in which all the industries of the world will be managed, by men elected by the people, in a scientific manner, i. e., with a view to supplying all mankind with necessities, comforts, luxuries, education and entertainment, instead of with a view to profits for the managers.

## THE WOMAN QUESTION

The noted writer, Olive Schreiner, is contributing to the Cosmopolitan Magazine a series of remarkably brave and searching articles on "The Woman Question," from which the subjoined extract is taken. Socialists will find in Olive Schreiner's original treatment of the question much to support their indictment of the present system. In the December number of the Cosmopolitan the writer says:

"We are far from asserting that the civilizations of the past which have decayed, have decayed alone through the parasitism of their females. Vast, far-reaching social phenomena have invariably too complex to be summed up under one so simple a term. Behind the phenomenon of female parasitism has always lain another and yet larger social phenomenon—it has invariably been preceded, as we have seen, by the subjugation of large bodies of other human creatures, either as slaves, subject races or classes; and as the result of the excessive labor of these classes there has always been an accumulation of unearned wealth in the hands of the dominant class or race. IT HAS INVARIABLY BEEN BY FEEDING ON THIS WEALTH, THE RESULT OF FORCED OR OF ILL-PAID LABOR, that the female of the dominant race or class has lost her activity and has come to exist purely through the passive performance of her sexual functions. Without slaves or subjects to perform the crude physical labors of life and produce superfluous wealth, the parasitism of the female would, in the past, have been an impossibility."

"There is, therefore, a profound truth in that universal and ancient saw which states that the decay of the great nations and civilizations of the past has resulted from the enervation caused by wealth and luxury; and there is a further and if possible more profound truth underlying the statement that their destruction has ultimately been the result of the enervation of the entire race, male and female."

"But when we come further to inquire how, exactly, this process of decay took place, we shall find that the part which the parasitism of the female has played has been fundamental. The mere use of any of the material products of labor, which we term wealth, can never in itself produce that decay, physical or mental, which precedes the downfall of great civilized nations. Salmon at ten shillings a pound can in itself no more debilitate and corrupt the moral, intellectual and physical constitution of the man consuming it than it could enervate his naked forefathers who speared it in their rivers for food; the fact that an individual wears a robe made from the filaments of a worm can no more deteriorate his spiritual or physical fiber than were it made of sheep's wool; an entire race housed in marble palaces, faring delicately and clad in silks, and surrounded by the noblest products of literature and plastic art, so those palaces, viands, garments and products of art were the result of their own labors, could never be enervated by them. The debilitating effect of wealth sets in at that point exactly (and never before) at which the supply of material necessities and comforts, and of esthetic enjoyments, clogs the individuality, causing it to rest satisfied in the mere passive possession of the results of the labor of others, without feeling any necessity or desire for further productive activity of its own."

"The exact material condition at which this point will be reached vary, not only with the race and the age, but with the individual. A Marcus Aurelius in a palace of gold and marble was able to retain his simplicity and virility as completely as though he had lived in a cowherd's hut; while on the other hand, it is quite possible for the wife of a savage chief who has but four slaves to bring her her corn and milk and spread her skins in the sun, to become almost as purely parasitic as the most delicately pampered female of fashion in ancient Rome or modern Paris or New York; while the exact amount of unearned material wealth which will emasculate individuals in the same society will vary exactly as their intellectual fiber and natural activity are strong or weak."

"The Herald Leaflets are good for propaganda at 35 cents per hundred copies."

## SIGN OF THE TIMES

That was a pleasing sign of social progress that the Austrian Socialists gave in their late annual convention. "The Austrian Social Democracy," said Comrade Victor Adler, "stood the crucial test; she had shown her ability to serve the common interests of all nationalities and protect the separate interests of each. The Social Democracy knows no interests except those of the working class. The political, economic and intellectual interests of the proletariat are the same in all nationalities." A clear comprehension of Mr. Adler's position will lead on to the solution of the question often asked by quasi-Socialists, viz., Where is the equity in giving to an expert, in any line of useful labor, only the same pay that is allowed to one less competent?

This is a poser to most people who are now waking up to the necessity of a change in political and economical methods. This question has been before able minds than mine and has had some notice in the press. Still, it is daily on the lips of many well-meaning people who would not combat it if they understood the substantial reasons for its advocacy. It is a necessity in the line of social and economic evolution. Co-operative trusts are speedily closing out individual resources, making it necessary for labor to co-operate. This co-operation must be mutual and founded upon equity to avoid the enmity and strife that is so common in competitive life. The immense debt that any well-equipped person owes to society when starting out in life is seldom, if ever, taken into account; but, with all his advantages over the less fortunate, he appropriates to himself all the additional advantages he and his class can procure, thus ever widening the chasm between themselves and the weaker members of society, culminating in exactly the state of affairs now before us. The chief difference between human and brute is the former's ability to adapt himself to, or change in part, his environment, and that is why the law of the survival of the fittest does not really or seemingly apply to mankind with the same effect that it does to other life."

The practice that "to the victor belongs the spoils" is brutal. It does not have one redeeming trait. The idea that men may rob by law, if they return a small percentage to the church or state is part of the same destructive philosophy; and the practice of selecting the most competent upon whom to bestow our gifts and praise is equally unjust.

Public esteem may well be given to those who expend their efforts in behalf of the common good, but presents, profits, emoluments and other property considerations will soon give the already successful additional power and lessen the opportunity of the remainder to such an extent that classes soon spring up, which in turn cause envy, hatred, strife, etc.

Any one having superior ability, of whatsoever nature, owes all to society save the necessary amount to sustain a natural equilibrium. Having received it from society, he can only pay the debt, balance the account, and maintain a true manhood. On the other hand, those who lack in beauty, worth and power got from society and environment largely shaped by society, what they have or are. Thus society and not the individual to any great extent is responsible. It is the business, then, of society to so change the environment that all may enjoy natural and equitable opportunities. We can never produce harmony by practicing discord. J. C. Weybright. Pleasant Valley, Cal.

## German Socialist Women

The last number of the Berlin Vorwarts gives an interesting and extended account of the work being done by the Socialist women of Berlin. A large and successful meeting was held November 13, at which Frau Zepler lectured on "Woman in Public Life."

The same week a call for still greater activity came from the Socialist women chosen to collect material, etc., for agitation purposes.

They say: "Party Comrades: A year rich in labor and struggle lies behind us and the time comes again to prepare for new work and in general to lay out a campaign of action."

"The number of women in the Social Democracy of Berlin who take part in the work of agitation except in times of great activity in the party is comparatively small."

"The greater part of the comrades wait to see what will happen for women, and yet it is the highest duty of every woman comrade to work in the first ranks for the education of laboring women in Socialism."

"It is your knowledge of this that has made comrades of you, and since you have this knowledge you must carry on the struggle with double energy against indifference, indolence or loss of courage in our ranks."

We will send free by mail the "Pocket Library of Socialism" to anyone sending us five yearly subscribers to The Herald at 50 cents each. The "Pocket Library" consists of ten books on Socialism, for which we should charge you 5 cents each, or 50 cents (complete) if you ordered them from us. By helping The Herald circulation, as suggested, you get them free.



## A REMARKABLE DISCUSSION

Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy Before the Tribunal  
of the Social Democratic Party of Germany

By L. Ladoff

The convention of representatives of the Social Democratic party of Germany, at the city of Hanover, lasting from the 9th to the 14th of October of this year, was one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of international Socialism. That convention marks an epoch in the theoretical and practical attitude of millions of Socialists all over the civilized world toward the most vital problems of the political, economic and social life of nations.

In order to fully understand the momentous import of the proceedings of the convention now lying before us in the shape of a bulky pamphlet, we have to throw a cursory glance at the origin of the Socialistic movement in Germany. The elements of Socialistic thought and sentiment are deeply imbedded in human nature and found their embodiment and expression in all zones of the earth and at all epochs in a more or less hazy and misty way and manner. But the distinction of founding a strictly scientific system of Socialism indisputably belongs to German thinkers and agitators—Rodbertus Jagetzow, Karl Marx, Fred Engels and Ferdinand Lassalle. As all great social prophets and seers, they were too far ahead of the mass of their contemporaries to be understood properly. The mass of the German people, the disinherited and downtrodden classes, instinctively felt that the pioneers and champions of modern Socialism were their best—nay, their only reliable—friends.

The tremendous and unparalleled success of the newly inaugurated movement was and is due chiefly to the marvelous sagacity of men like Karl Marx, the Charles Darwin of social science, to the true prophetic intuition and arduous inspiration of men like Ferdinand Lassalle. Marx and Lassalle were the Buddhas, the Moseses, the Christs of modern Socialism—gigantic figures who inspired their pygmean contemporaries with a mingled feeling of awe and reverence, irrational fear or boundless confidence, according to conditions. Those who were dissatisfied with the social and economic conditions listened eagerly to the gospel of modern Socialism, while those who were satisfied and content watched with terror the rapid spread of Socialistic doctrines and sentiments.

In both cases there was no place for a rational, impartially critical attitude toward the great leaders of modern Socialism and their teachings. The great mass of the people were either inclined to be blind believers in the new revelation or its just as blind adversaries. The criticism of middle-class economists was, as a rule, either hopelessly weak, or clearly one-sided, and therefore prejudiced and narrow.

The social and economic and especially the political conditions of Germany were eminently favorable for the phenomenal growth and development of the new party. The radical elements of the middle class mostly joined the new party, and the rest of them were thoroughly demoralized by the Bismarckian era of iron and blood. The Social Democratic party was and is recognized as the only honest and reliable political party in Germany.

Is it to be wondered at that the teachings of Marx were looked upon by the rank and file of the party as a kind of a Bible? Is it to be wondered at that any attempt to put an interrogation point at the end of a sentence coming from this great economist or his apostle, Fred Engels, was considered as heresy and treason to party principles? Is it to be wondered at that the so-called Marxists were more orthodox than Marx himself? Nothing could be more natural, more human, than that.

The psychological organs of the human body are subject to the same laws as the rest of nature, and, among others, to the law of inertia. The human soul, just as any other body, remains in its old attitude till some compact from outside pushes it into another attitude and so on indefinitely. Great men, like lenses of certain construction, concentrated in themselves the purest rays of intellectual light and ethical warmth of their own and past ages and arouse the mass of their contemporaries from its habitual psychical stupor. To the clarified vision the old idols and gods appear as so many dead and meaningless fetiches. The old idols, gods and fetiches are cast away into a heap of rubbish. But in a twinkling of an eye these same great iconoclasts and successful adversaries of idols and fetiches of the past are turned by the thoughtless crowd into new fetiches and idols. Such is the irony of fate.

This same phenomenon happened in the rank and file of the Social Democratic party of Germany, in express violation of the spirit of its great founders. Fortunately, among the personal friends of Karl Marx and his collaborators a man arose who possesses the mental independence and courage of convictions which enabled him to throw a firebrand of fearless criticism in the very center of ultra-orthodox Marxism. This man is Mr. Bernstein—one of the oldest and most esteemed leaders of the party. Some time ago Mr. Bernstein published a pamphlet in which he endeavored to analyze the entire philosophy of modern Socialism and its practical activity as a political

power in the state. The views expressed in this pamphlet were so heterodox, so apparently un-Marxian, if not even anti-Marxian, that they aroused a regular storm of discussion in the party press. If the author had been a "middle-class scribbler," he would be most assuredly ignored. But anything originating from Mr. Bernstein's pen could not be ignored or silenced. The discussion was the means of arousing a great deal of personal animosity, as is usually the case, and caused a differentiation of opinions and attitudes of the whole party to crystallize in a set of resolutions of great importance.

As opponents of Bernstein's heresy forward, such recognized leaders and inspirers of the movement as Messrs. Liebknecht, Bebel and Kautsky appeared. Mr. Bernstein lives in exile in London and could not defend his own cause, but found eloquent champions in Dr. David, Dr. Woltman and others. The convention consumed most of its activity in the debate pro and contra Bernstein and looked very much like a modernized tribunal against a heretic.

Let us now see what are the theses of this modern Luther of Socialism. Bernstein criticized the materialistic conception of history by Marx, his dialectic methods of reasoning, his theory of values, the theory of the inevitable progressive economic degradation of the proletariat under the capitalist system, the theory of a sudden change from the present state of society by merely political means to a Socialistic stage, and many others points, which were considered by the orthodox Social Democrats as settled once and forever. But what aroused most opposition were the assertions of Mr. Bernstein that the Social Democratic party ought to cease to oppose everything coming from the middle-class honest reformers, only because they are members of the middle class; that it ought to pay more attention to practical problems of the day than to hazy speculation about the future; that labor unions ought to be recognized as socializing factors and indorsed as such; that the present society has to be gradually socialized. In brief, Mr. Bernstein tried to broaden and deepen the channels and avenues of Socialistic philosophy in the light of newly revised data and conception of economic and social life.

His opponents are chiefly inspired by the fear that the broadening of views would not result in the total eradication of the till now sharply defined lines of demarcation between the radical reformer of the middle class on one side and social revolutionists on the other, in the flattening and loss of pigment on the part of the specifically Socialistic shibboleths so dear to the heart of the members of the rank and file of the party, and finally in the disheartening and loss of faith and ardor in case Mr. Bernstein's rather prosaic skepticism as to the "final end" of Socialism should prevail. Indeed, if Socialism is not strictly an economical class movement, but a general human revolutionary movement, there is no need in a class conscious revolutionary activity, reason veterans like Bebel and Liebknecht, whose imagination is still alive with pictures of the sudden arrival of the "kingdom of God" in our own days. If the Socialistic movement is not a revolutionary, but a reformatory, party, like any other middle-class so-called reform party," they argue, "we spent all our life and activity in chasing after rainbows like children."

The veterans of the Social Democracy of Germany are afraid that Bernstein's philosophy will prove to be an open door to opportunism of the worst kind. The Bernsteinists do not share any apprehensions of that kind. They consider the party strong enough to bear the full light of truth safely.

Space does not allow us to go further into the highly interesting discussion. We translate here, however, the resolution of Bebel, amended by others, and bearing directly on the pamphlet of Bernstein:

"The recent development of the capitalist society does not warrant any changes of fundamental principles on the part of the Social Democracy. The party remains on the foundation of class struggle. The emancipation of the laboring class can be accomplished only by that class. It is therefore the historic task of the laboring class to conquer the political power in order to put therewith the foundation for the highest possible welfare of all by the means of socialization of the means of production and distribution. In order to accomplish these results, the party uses all means consistent with its principles. Without entertaining any illusions on account of the essence and character of the middle-class parties as representatives and defenders of the existing state and social structure, our party will not decline from time to time to co-operate with them, when expedient in the interest of the strengthening of the party during elections, the extension of the political rights and freedom of the people, or an earnest improvement of the social position of the laboring class, the furtherance of cultural tasks or struggle against tendencies inimical to the people in general or the working class in particular. But the party reserves for itself everywhere in its activity its full independence and integrity and considers each success gained by it only as a step, bringing it nearer to its final goal. The party maintains a neutral attitude toward the trade unions. It con-

siders the foundation of such unions, if the conditions for their existence are apparent, as likely to improve the condition of their members. It looks upon the foundation of such unions—as generally any organization of laborers for the purpose of the furtherance and protection of their interests—as a proper means of education of the laboring class to independent management of their own affairs. It does not, however, attribute to these trade unions any decided significance in the emancipation of the working class from the fetters of wage slavery. In the struggle against militarism on land and sea and in its attitude toward colonial policy the party remains faithful to its previous views. The same applies to international policy, having in view the fraternization of nations, and, first of all, the working classes all over the civilized world, with the purpose of the accomplishment of the solution of common cultural problems on the foundation of a general federation. After all this the party has no reason to change either its program or its tactics or name. It therefore rejects decidedly any attempt leading to a veiling or shifting of its attitude toward the existing state, social order or middle-class parties."

So far the resolution adopted by the convention. The anti-Bernstein faction of the convention was victorious. But the real purpose of Bernstein and his followers, as we understand it, was not to force upon the official organization of the party a change of principles or tactics, but to awaken the rank and file of the party from their mental inertia, to do away as far as possible with thoughtless fetishism and idol worship, to arouse their slumbering powers of criticism and original unbiased reasoning, to revise old articles of faith and probe their validity to remove the Chinese wall of so-called class consciousness as far as it degenerates into class exclusiveness. And who will deny this purpose is accomplished splendidly? Mr. Bernstein may err, as any other mortal, and not all of his theses will hold water; but all honest and enlightened Socialists hailed his pamphlet with delight. It did a great service, clearing the atmosphere of Socialistic thought from stagnating clouds of dust and mist, like a refreshing thunder-storm in the spring. The Social Democratic party of America is fortunate enough to be free from any antiquated prejudices and traditional narrowness. It exercises a broad generosity and sincere tolerance. It is unhampered by tactical considerations having their foundation in a monarchical government. With all due regard to such veterans of Socialism as Comrades Bebel, Liebknecht and others, the American Social Democrats will reserve their opinion as to the alleged heterodoxy or heresy of Comrade Bernstein till the heat of the battle will be a thing of the past and the light of cool judgment shall prevail.

## THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That the private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially due share of their product.

That the capitalist ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a co-operative production and distribution through the action of the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society, the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization, shall connect with the one capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world, the brotherhood of man, the brotherhood of man, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. The revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. Labor legislation to be made national, instead of local, and international where possible.

3. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

4. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

5. The adoption of the initiative and referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

6. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Legislation to be made national, instead of local, and international where possible.

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